World Alliance News Letter

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Reconstruction

Reconstruction is a password among the United Nations. In nearly every country of the coalition, plans for post-war rebuilding are being given increasing prominence. Joint efforts in this field are likewise high on the agenda. Long-term reconstruction, like emergency relief, is a major common concern of the peoples united for victory and security.

The meaning of reconstruction in contemporary usage is not precise. The narrower sense of the term refers to rebuilding the devastations of the war and, more loosely, to the reconversion of economy from war to peace. Yet there is a broader meaning frequently intended by the use of this term: the reorganization of economic and social relations to secure greater values for society. One word, in short, is used to mean both reconstruction and construction, both rebuilding the old and building the new.

It is natural that this should be so, for the war permits no return to pre-war conditions. As British business leaders have said, "We are on the threshold of a new world and the theories and practices of the past cannot be taken for granted in the future." Reconstruction after this war inevitably involves finding new solutions because the problems are new. Cities of the *Blitz*, for example, will need replanning, not repairing.

A more important reason for the dual meaning of reconstruction is the opposition in country after country to any return to the world which produced this war. The perils and sacrifices of our time have reinforced popular demands for a better order at home and abroad. The unprecedented tasks of the war have been met with energy, skill and devotion. Consequently millions are convinced that the social and economic needs of peoples can be met in the same way, and must so be met. If victory can be organized, better living conditions likewise can be achieved. That conviction is largely responsible for the fuller meaning of reconstruction.

The chief danger in all this is over-optimism, the belief that war-time promises will automatically become peace-time performances. It is relatively easy to plan "homes for heroes" when the war effort is at its height. It is quite another thing actually to construct those homes later on, in the midst of post-war weariness and colossal debt. Consequently it seems wise to appraise plans of reconstruction soberly, in the light of probable post-war conditions and with full realization of the size and difficulty of the job to be done.

The task of reconstruction will be the supreme test of the peoples. It will test their imagination, their will, their faith. It will do so, not because reconstruction is inherently more difficult than war, but because it is less compelling as a vivid and immediate goal, because it requires a greater adjustment of group interests, above all because it is superimposed upon the struggle for victory. Yet reconstruction offers the major reward for victory. It is the life-blood for the organization of peace.

Again and again churchmen have expressed the religious commitment to the task of reconstruction. In Britain, principles of economic and social reconstruction were stressed in the Ten Points, in the Malvern Manifesto, in a pastoral letter of the Catholic Archbishop, and in the report of the Commission of the Churches on International Friendship and Social Responsibility. Comparable principles were emphasized in the United States in the Delaware Conference, the Christian Conference on War and Peace, the Catholic, Jewish and Protestant Declaration on World Peace, and other statements. Excerpts from the Pope's Christmas Eve allocution and from a statement by Canadian churchmen are printed in this issue.

A good summary of religious principles for reconstruction was given in the intercreedal Pattern for Peace, which urged "international economic collaboration to assist all states to provide an adequate standard of living for their citizens" and national action "to provide for the security of the family, the collaboration of all groups and classes in the interest of the common good, a standard of living adequate for self-development and family life, decent conditions of work, and participation by labor in decisions affecting its welfare."

In order to meet our responsibilities, we in the churches need to see the implications of our principles in terms of the concrete emerging problems and possibilities of reconstruction. Further, we need to work out definite plans of action, on local, national and international scale, to help realize these possibilities. Beyond the immediate obligations of the present struggle for victory and a just peace, there is the religious duty to prepare intelligently for reconstruction. Without neglecting the form, we need to make ready in every appropriate way for the great work ahead.

International Proposals

The problems of reconstruction are many and various. They involve demobilization of the armed forces: mustering-out pay, medical aid, pensions, reemployment and resettlement, unemployment protection, educational and vocational aid. They concern the demobilization of industry: the conversion of war plants, the retraining of war workers, the salvage of materials and the like. In the occupied countries, there are the formidable problems of rebuilding the looted economy and retraining the decimated labor force. In the bombed and war-blasted areas, the need for new factories and homes will be large.

Beyond these problems are the larger issues of more adequate education, social security, medical care, housing, in short, a more adequate standard of living. These involve problems of increased production, an efficient division of labor in industry and agriculture, new inventions and adequate commerce. The facets of economic and social reconstruction are almost endless.

The job in the first instance is the job of national governments and groups. Each nation will have to work out its own solution. Yet the problem transcends the boundaries of national action. Unless international security is organized, no nation will be free to develop adequately its resources for social welfare. Unless there is an efficient international division of labor, unless there is a full flow of trade, unless there is mutual aid in reconstruction, the job will be long and costly, if not impossible.

The machinery for the task has not been established as yet, although the experience of Lend-Lease, of the International Labor Organization and of UNRRA should prove valuable, and might indeed be adapted for part of the job. A multiple approach will be necessary because of the multiplicity of the problems. In his message to Congress on November 15, President Roosevelt said:

> UNRRA will not, of course, be expected to solve the long-range problems of reconstruction. Other machinery and other measures will be necessary for this purpose.

On October 8, the Treasury Department made public a set of "Guiding Principles for a Proposed United Nations Bank for Reconstruction and Development." The proposal calls for an international bank, capitalized at $10 billion, to encourage and supplement reasonable private loans to member governments, for projects financially sound. The bank would promote and help to guarantee credits for profitable reconstruction undertakings.

On December 11, John MacCormac reported in *The New York Times* that the interim committee of the United Nations Food Conference will recommend the creation of a permanent world food organization to promote concerted action "to improve nutrition, raise the general level of well-being among the populations of the globe, increase the efficiency of agriculture and better the conditions of producers." The agency would be primarily an advisory and research body. Its first function would be the preparation of a long-term plan for the expansion and improvement of agricultural production.

On December 20, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden expressed the hope that the International Labor Organization would be the main instrument for achieving "improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security." He went on to say that the governments, employers and workers in the I.L.O., could work out "a comprehensive program of labor and industrial reconstruction."

The appointment of Dr. Grayson Kefauver of Stanford as a State Department consultant on the problem of educational reconstruction, was followed on December 28 by the establishment, under the chairmanship of Dr. Howard Shapley of Harvard, of an American Association for an International Office for Education. The proposed agency could help to repair devastated school systems and promote their improvement, as well as to foster an educational groundwork for the peace.

The main conditions necessary for the success of these proposals seem to be three: that the cooperation of the United Nations will continue to transcend their differences after victory, that they will join in a permanent international organization to keep the peace, and that they can muster the resources needed to finance international reconstruction. The first two have been considered frequently. The third is also a serious problem.

Because of American wealth and favored position in the war, the international financing of reconstruction will largely be a question of American financing. This somber fact emerges from even a superficial examination of the situation. Consequently economic stability in the United States is a major key to the success or failure of the plans. The danger of inflation in this country, caused by the gaps between war expenditures and taxes, is therefore doubly serious. During 1943, expenditures of $88 billion exceeded government income of $34½ billion by 155 per cent. Unless the danger of inflation is kept under strict control, all hope of adequate reconstruction may be wiped out.

Reconstruction, like the war, will be an arduous struggle. The point was made by President Roosevelt on January 1:

> The United Nations are giving attention also to the different kind of struggle which must follow the military phase, the struggle against disease, malnutrition, unemployment and many other forms of economic and social distress.

National Beginnings

Five of the eight governments-in-exile have initiated post-war plans. Czechoslovakia was the first to set up a Ministry of Economic Reconstruction, to deal with war damages and economic renovation through more distribution of land, cheap agricultural credit, better social conditions for rural workers, and the development of new industries with government support. A Belgian Committee for the Study of Post-War Problems has been functioning in London since 1941. The Committee has proposed three national councils: an economic council on the improvement of agriculture and industrial production for exports; a social council to deal with unemployment, vocational training, housing, public health, etc.; and an educational council to foster better schools, press and the like. The Dutch and Norwegian governments-in-exile have focussed primarily on immediate economic and social needs after the invaders have been thrown out. The Polish Ministry of Finance, Commerce and Industry has undertaken a number of studies on agriculture, housing and foreign trade.

Because of the extensive planning machinery developed during the past fifteen years, the Soviet Union is not likely to require new agencies for the reconversion of war industry and the reconstruction of several thousands of square miles of scorched earth. The greatest problems are likely to be the shortage of manpower because of the heavy war casualties, and the shortage of machine tools. The tempo of reconstruction in the Soviet Union, as elsewhere, will depend upon the character of post-war security and the credit available.

In China, planning agencies are looking towards a rapid industrialization of China, particularly the inland development of heavy industry and a large increase in transportation facilities, under government guidance. Agricultural reform is perhaps the largest problem, because of the great predominance of peasants. Cheaper credits, improved methods of farming, more irrigation in the northwest provinces, resettlement in the West and Manchuria — these are a few of the agricultural tasks. To import the necessary capital goods and transports for the reconstruction program, China will need from $5 to $10 billion in foreign credits, according to an estimate by Dr. T. V. Soong.

Among the tasks confronting British ministries of planning are the repairing and rebuilding of from 1½ to 2 million dwellings, the reconversion and relocation of industry in the smaller centers, the extension and intensification of agriculture and improvement of rural social conditions, and the further development of social security. The Beveridge plan to insure the British people against the financial burdens of education, unemployment, retraining, medical and hospital care, disability, maternity, old age and funerals has been debated, but action has been postponed. A bill for the improvement of the school system is now before Parliament.

In Canada, legislation has been passed to provide for service men certain transitional benefits, vocational training up to one year, educational allowances, unemployment benefits of from $9 to $13 a week up to one year, and a system of agricultural resettlement (involving grants and loans up to $4,800) to establish soldiers in farming. The Committee on Reconstruction also has proposed that the social insurance system be overhauled to extend the coverage of unemployment insurance and increase the benefits for married workers; to include retirement and disability insurance; to establish children's allowances, maternity benefits, health insurance, and funeral benefits. A $1 billion "employment reserve" of work projects is suggested for the first post-war year.

In Australia returned soldiers are to be given a free educational and vocational training for a year after the war. Steps are being taken to set up a reservoir of public works to cushion the transition. A system of "security from the cradle to the grave" is planned, together with a better distribution of medical facilities and a central housing authority. The New Zealand government has passed a comprehensive act to reestablish service men in civil life, and plans to pursue an ambitious scheme of economic development begun in 1935. The Union of South Africa has before it a less ambitious plan to increase industries and protect grazing and arable land. Educational and agricultural reform in India hang in part upon a solution of the political problems.

A number of Latin American governments are working on plans to diversify their economy, decrease their dependence on foreign trade and investment, and to increase their national standard of living. The plans of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay are considered in Mr. Lorwin's survey.

The United States has made less of a concerted approach to reconstruction than many of her allies. The National Resources Planning Board worked on proposals to facilitate the demobilization of men, machines and economic controls; to promote free enterprise through science, control of monopoly, and control of certain strategic industries; to further urban rebuilding, agricultural development, conservation, electrification, transportation and public works; to extend social insurance, health and nutrition services and educational aid. The N.R.P.B., however, ceased operations in July 1943, when funds were denied by Congress. The main actions taken by Congress thus far are approval of pensions and hospitalization for returning soldiers and the vote in the Senate for mustering-out pay of from $200 to $500. Senator Wagner has introduced a bill to extend unemployment and old-age benefits to service men.

Postwar Patterns and Problems

Lewis L. Lorwin has prepared a much-needed survey of United Nations plans for domestic reconstruction, entitled Postwar Plans of the United Nations. *The summary of developments, country by country, which constitutes the major part of the book, forms the chief source for the brief outline entitled "National Beginnings" on page 3. Readers are urged to study the whole survey (see* SUGGESTED READING). *Because of its value to church groups, Chapter XV, which summarizes Mr. Lorwin's analysis, is printed here in full, with the kind permission of the publishers, the Twentieth Century Fund.*

The postwar plans of the members of the United Nations have many elements in common, but differ in some essential features. Their aims and purposes are similar. Their differences appear chiefly in the social-economic institutions through which the aims are to be realized.

Neither the similarities nor the differences of the plans can be classified systematically, nor can the countries themselves be arranged in any order based on their postwar plans. However, the survey reveals several patterns which are interwoven in different ways in the postwar proposals of the different countries.

1. The Pattern of Social Aims

Practically all the countries aim to improve the economic and social condition of the mass of the people. In the advanced industrial countries, especially in the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations and western Europe, where the memories of 1929-1932 are still fresh, emphasis is on "full employment" and "social security." The USSR and the industrially less developed countries, e.g., Latin America, India and China stress the idea of "higher living standards" through more production and greater productivity. The concrete objectives, however, are alike – an increase in the material goods of life, better nutrition, housing, health and education, as a means for a larger spiritual and cultural life of all people. Most plans also imply that bettering the condition of the people will bring about a greater economic and social equality among all groups and classes.

To attain these social aims, most postwar proposals lean heavily on social insurance and expansion of the social services. The proposals cover all phases of life, "from the cradle to the grave," as the now famous phrase goes. Men, women and children are to be protected against all the hazards of work and life, to be assisted in getting an education or a vocation, to be helped in providing themselves with better nutrition, decent homes and good health, and to be assured of the means of maintaining themselves in old age. The "Beveridge plan" in England is the prototype of similar proposals in Canada, Australia and other countries. It is paralleled by the proposals of the National Resources Planning Board in the United States and by the social legislation of New Zealand. Latin American countries are advancing along the same path. China and India accept the principle, though their concrete programs on the subject are limited and meager.

Current proposals are only in part a result of the desire for stability and security which became keen in most countries after 1929. In part, they reflect a growing demand for a basic "social minimum" as a "right" of the individual or family in return for productive and other services rendered to the community. The "social minimum" is thought of as a sort of "social floor," for the individual and the family and at the same time as a claim for a share in the total national income. In contrast to such economic or social reforms as the minimum wage or shorter hours of work, social insurance and particularly some of the social services call for free payments to particular groups of people from general public funds. They are meant to redistribute the national income in favor of the lower income groups just as "parity prices" and "tariff subsidies" presumably do in favor of farmers and manufacturers respectively.

Most plans make provision for "rebuilding" their respective countries, for creating a new and better physical environment for social life after the war. The Scott Report in England and the program of the Rural Reconstruction Movement in China, have the same aims, though the variations in methods are great in view of differences in economic structure. Cities and towns are to be more spacious, have more public utilities, easier and better transportation and larger facilities for neighborhood and community life.

A theme which runs through most plans is that of bettering the conditions of economic and social life in villages, especially for rural workers. The urban-rural gap in physical comforts and in social opportunities is to be greatly reduced. Agricultural workers and small farmers are to be included in the various systems of social insurance or of the social services, and the village is to be given facilities for a larger and more varied economic and social life.

There is strong emphasis in most plans also on the need for widening the access of the people to education and to a larger cultural life. In some countries, e.g., England, this emphasis is based on a feeling that differences in educational opportunities are responsible for existing economic and social inequalities and for the waste of human and intellectual resources. In Latin America, in India, and in some other countries, the question is one of doing away with illiteracy and of laying the elementary educational foundations of a modern community. In most countries, there is also the

notion that education and recreation, like the social services, offer a growing field for the use of resources and labor and for employment directed not so much to the material needs as to the comforts and amenities of an advancing civilization.

2. *Patterns of Economic Policy*

Most postwar plans not only have similar social aims, but agree to a large extent on the economic policies which they propose. In general terms, postwar national plans in the different countries stress the need to develop national resources, to increase and to diversify agricultural production, to expand manufacturing industries, to enlarge the domestic market, and to find export markets for agricultural and manufactured goods.

The plans vary, however, with regard to the specific methods by which these policies are to be carried out, and especially with regard to the rôle of private and public enterprise in the postwar economy. The countries of the United Nations fall into three broad groups. The first group includes the United States, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and some countries of western Europe. Most official and unofficial plans of these countries assume that private enterprise will remain the dominant form of economic activity. Their proposals are intended to strengthen private enterprise by imparting to it a larger social purpose and by extending to it governmental aid.

The second group includes some countries in central Europe, a number of Latin American countries and China. The plans of these countries assign a large and permanent place to state enterprise and to other forms of collective organizations, e.g., industrial co-operatives, in the tasks of reconstruction and postwar development. These countries contemplate nationalization of many basic resources as well as a large part of the heavy industries. The tendency in these countries, some of which are in the early stages of industrialization, is towards an economic system which may be described either as "state capitalism" or a "mixed economy," depending on the degree to which government ownership and operation will be combined with other forms of public and semi-public enterprise.

The third group consists of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics with its complete nationalization of economic life and centralized planning methods.

In the case of a number of countries, it is difficult to decide whether they belong in the first or second group. New Zealand might be cited as an illustration. But even in such countries as England, government and private plans indicate a tendency towards reorganizing some industries on the basis of national ownership or of "industrial self-government" under state control.

There is almost complete agreement in all plans on one point, namely, that the government assume the task of providing employment, if and when private enterprise fails to do so. For this purpose, all plans outline schemes of public works ranging from the usual road construction to the building of low-cost houses, schools, hospitals and recreational facilities. So far as they advocate such public works, all plans provide for a larger participation of the government in economic life after the war.

3. *Group Interests and National Planning*

In most of the United Nations there is a cleavage on essential policies between the postwar plans of different economic, social and political groups. In some countries, e.g., the United States and Great Britain, the differences center around such questions as social security and public works; in other countries, e.g., South Africa and New Zealand, the disagreements concern such problems as the degree of postwar industrialization and government control.

The war has stimulated in all countries the growth of the idea of economic and social planning. Employers' associations call for more "planning" in order to provide employment, develop market demand, and improve standards of living. In many of the countries, planning committees and agencies have been set up by private groups and by the governments. In all cases, it is proposed to maintain or develop these planning agencies after the war.

Private groups in most countries view the problems of "national planning" from the angle of their particular group interests. Some governments have made efforts to reconcile group differences in a common "national" program, but not always with satisfactory results.

The problem which faces most of the United Nations is how to concentrate the various economic and social groups around a national postwar program. The disagreements loom large when general social philosophies and long-range objectives are stressed. The area of disagreement is narrowed down where more immediate needs and specific policies for the postwar period are considered. In most countries, the various programs contain elements which form what may be called a "minimum program" on which there is "majority agreement." The question is whether such a "minimum program" offers a basis for a policy of "national concentration" which would make possible a smooth transition to peace and gradual readjustments after the war.

4. National Plans and International Policy

The postwar plans of the different members of the United Nations are being worked out independently, without regard to their mutual relations. This raises the question of their compatibility with the international commitments which have already been accepted by the United Nations under the Atlantic Charter, and the Lend-Lease Agreements or which may be made in the near future for international economic co-operation.

There is no doubt that most nations, especially the larger and stronger ones, can put into effect many of their postwar proposals without regard to what is done elsewhere. That applies to policies of social security, to changes in land distribution and ownership, to town and country planning, and in some measure even to public works. But most of the proposals for the development of national resources, industrialization, and economic expansion can not be realized in any one country to any considerable extent without affecting economic and social conditions in other countries.

From the point of view of international economic relations, the proposals of practically all countries of the United Nations to maintain their war-created industries and to develop new industries after the war are of particular importance. Most, if not all, plans state explicitly or imply that "full employment" and higher living standards depend, to a large extent, on the capacity of the respective countries to reserve as much of the home market as possible for domestic industries. At the same time, they stress the need of foreign markets. Added to this is the idea that a balance must be maintained between agriculture and industry even if that should mean an enlargement of the domestic output of some agricultural commodities, formerly obtained through imports.

Many specific measures proposed for postwar industrial expansion can not but aggravate the international issues raised. These measures include, on the national level, large expenditures for public works, subsidized housing and government subsidies to industries, which affect fiscal and monetary policies. On the foreign policy level, the measures proposed in many countries include protective tariffs, exchange controls, export subsidies, import control, and government supervision or direction of foreign trade.

The question is whether these national policies and methods can be woven into a system of international economic co-operation, and, if so, how. Many plans assume that national policies must be devised first and that they may be reconciled afterwards with measures for international collaboration. In other words, international economic policy is to be adjusted to national plans, and not vice versa.

On the other hand, many members of the United Nations realize that the success of their national economic plans depends on the financial and technical aid of the industrially and financially stronger countries. The problem, as they see it, is to obtain such aid without having to give up their programs of national development.

The terms of the problem are affected in large measure by what may be called the postwar economic outlook. The sponsors of most plans are in the throes of an economic dualism. They see an opening ahead for a new upsurge of industrial energy and of economic growth. But this outlook is darkened by the lingering memories of the aftermath of the First World War and the great depression. Most postwar plans seek to resolve this dualism by recourse to more national control and self-direction. On the other hand, a few governments and some employers' groups, would release the future by reviving the past. They seek a way out of their dualism by proposing to remove both national and international controls in order to allow free play to individual and group interests.

Another way out of this economic dualism is suggested by some of the plans, e.g., those of Latin America. It is to make the fulfillment of the national aims and purposes of some countries the specific tasks of international organizations set up for the purpose. The program for the postwar development of China is based on such an assumption. If this method could be adopted, it would necessitate building up a new international framework which would adjust the aims and policies of different groups and nations.

The national plans of the United Nations point clearly to a postwar world in which social aims are to be the chief guide to economic policy. Those who have drawn up these plans evidently look forward to an industrial expansion which will derive its driving power from the conscious effort to give every man, woman and child a better place in the world. They place their hope of national fulfillment in the willingness of all groups within each nation to adjust their differences in a common program of "national concentration." They seek a surer method of national balanced development in the co-operative planning of public and private agencies. The chief limitations of current postwar plans are the conflicting elements in the proposals of the different countries and their lack of co-ordination with plans for international economic and social organization. The capacity of the United Nations to reconcile these conflicts in their domestic postwar plans will determine the degree of their success in building a better postwar world for all.

Pope Pius on Reconstruction

In his Christmas Eve allocution, Pope Pius XII called or aid by the more favored nations to relieve the suffering of war-torn peoples. He went on to urge the importance of reconstruction efforts:

> Amid the animosity which the world conflict has aroused and intensified there appears in ever clearer light a consoling development of plans and purposes — we mean the reawakening of the sense of common responsibility in the face of the problems arising from the general impoverishment caused by the war.
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> The destruction and devastation which have followed it urgently demand work of reconstruction and relief to meet all the harm done. The errors of the recent past are warnings for free and enlightened minds to which, for reasons of prudence as well as from a sense of humanity, they cannot remain deaf. They look upon the spiritual reconstruction and the material restoration of the peoples and states as an organic whole, in which nothing would be more fatal than to leave unhealed centers of infection, from which tomorrow disastrous consequences could again arise. They feel that in a new organization of peace, of law and of labor, the treatment of some nations in a manner contrary to justice, equity and prudence should not give rise to new dangers which would jeopardize its solidity or its stability.

The Pope expressed the importance of high moral ideals in the organization of a dynamic and just peace:

> A true peace is not the mathematical result of a proportion of forces, but in its last and deepest meaning is a moral and juridical process. It is not, in fact, achieved without the employment of force, and its very existence needs the support of a normal measure of power. But the real function of this force, if it is to be morally correct, should consist in protecting and defending, and not in lessening or suppressing rights. An hour like the present — so full of possibilities for vast beneficent progress no less than for fatal defects and blunders — has perhaps never been seen in the history of mankind.
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> And this hour demands, with insistent voice, that the aims and programs for peace be inspired by the highest moral sense. They should have as their supreme purpose nothing less than the task of securing agreement and concord between the warring nations — an achievement which may leave with every nation, in the consciousness of its duty to unite with the rest of the family of states, the possibility of cooperating with dignity, without renouncing or destroying itself, in the great future task of recuperation and reconstruction.

Canadian Churchmen on Reconstruction

The General Synod of the Church of England in Canada called in September for the organization of "Canadian Malverns" to study and act on the "Statement on Social Welfare and World Order" received at that time. The statement approves the principles of the Atlantic Charter, of the Ten Points, and of the Six Pillars of Peace. The major part of the document is devoted to problems of reconstruction, to the task of organizing "human affairs in such fashion that both freedom and fellowship in a controlled economy may be secured to all."

The statement calls for "service instead of self-seeking" as the dominant motive of society and the mainspring of individual action. It commends government proposals to promote the well-being of the service men not only by pensions, medical grants and promises of compulsory reemployment, but also by credits for unemployment benefits and by aid for education and vocational training. It urges that plans for extended social security seek the coordination of all such measures to assure a minimum income to all willing to work, and to their families.

The statement further recognizes the complicated factors involved in the maintenance of employment. The importance of international collaboration and agreement to achieve this end is particularly stressed. The pronouncement finds it imperative that labor, capital and management "share in the operation of production on a fairer division both of responsibility and of benefits."

Other aspects of reconstruction stressed in the statement concern health and housing. The Canadian churchmen express the hope that "more equitable arrangements than have hitherto obtained will be established to bring the blessings of physical and mental health to all classes of our people and in all areas." They also emphasize the task of government to build homes for low income groups, thereby helping "to create a sense of security for the family . . . and contribute towards the stabilization of the spiritual and physical life of the whole community."

Brotherhood Week

February 20-26 will be observed as Brotherhood Week. This is part of Brotherhood Month, mentioned in the December NEWS LETTER. Material on Brotherhood Week may be secured from the National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. President Roosevelt has issued the following message:

> The annual observance of Brotherhood Week is a time both of reminder and dedication. It reminds us of the basic religious faith from which democracy has grown — that all men are children of one Father and brothers in the human family. It dedicates us to the practice of understanding and justice through which freedom and equality flourish in human society.
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> While we are engaged in a mighty struggle to preserve our free institutions and to extend the boundaries of liberty in the earth, it is good for us to pledge renewed devotion to the fundamentals upon which this nation has been built. Brotherhood must prevail. Our inescapable choice is brotherhood or chaos.

On land and sea and in the air, the sons of the United States fight as one though they come from every racial and cultural strain and though they worship at different altars. They are brothers in arms now; soon, pray God, they shall be brothers in peace. We on the home front must see that history shall not repeat itself in postwar hatred and intolerance. It is for us to make the homeland more nearly a land of brotherhood, worthy of the victory our gallant sons and daughters shall surely win.

I, therefore, heartily join with the National Conference of Christians and Jews and with all forces of good will in our country in urging nation-wide observance of Brotherhood Week, February 20-26, 1944. I hope that our citizens will meet in church and schoolhouse, in halls and public places to think through the implications of practical brotherhood today, to cement our country's unity during the trying times to come, and to pledge anew allegiance to the flag which is a living symbol of liberty and justice for all.

A Fine Lenten Guide

The NEWS LETTER recommends as a guide to Lenten thought for pastors and laity the new manual, *The Disciplines of Freedom* by the Rev. Leslie T. Pennington, pastor of The First Church, Cambridge, Mass. Mr. Pennington has brought to the preparation of this manual the deepest insight of his ministry. The material is arranged for daily devotions during Lent. The seven weekly topics are: Our Ultimate Resources, Elements in Our Heritage, The Goal We Seek, The Conditions of Freedom, Understanding Ourselves and the Spirit, Needed Stresses of Discipline, Holy Week. Copies of this inspiring guide may be secured from this office at 5 cents per copy. Copies are being sent to World Alliance members with the February News Letter.

SUGGESTED READING

Intercredal Cooperation by Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. and John Courtney Murray, S.J. The Catholic Association for International Peace, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 5, D. C. Single copy, free.

Two stimulating papers on the basis for interfaith cooperation in Catholic doctrine. Father Parsons analyzes the teaching in Papal pronouncements and Father Murray summarizes pertinent principles.

Problems of Reconstruction

Reconversion of Industry for Peace. National Planning Association, 800 21st Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. 25 cents.

This study of American demobilization calls for a "single coordinating agency in the Executive Office of the President."

Postwar Plans of the United Nations by Lewis L. Lorwin. Twentieth Century Fund, 330 West 42 Street, New York 18. $2.50.

The valuable factual survey of plans for domestic reconstruction among the United Nations upon which this issue of the NEWS LETTER is largely based. A fine reference book for leaders and possible study book for advanced study groups.

Collapse or Boom at the End of the War by Harold G. Moulton and Karl Schlotterbeck. Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C. 25 cents.

The authors compare the favorable and unfavorable factors at the end of this war with the situation after 1815, 1865 and 1918. Stimulating for advanced groups.

Jobs and Security for Tomorrow by Maxwell S. Stewart. Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York. 10 cents.

A popular summary of recommendations in two reports of the National Resources Planning Board and the report of the Social Security Board.

World Needs for U. S. Food and Fibre by John D. Black. National Planning Association, Washington, D. C. 50 cents.

The best brief summary that has come to our attention concerning this problem. The survey shows the need for large-scale agricultural production in the early post-war years.

American Society in Wartime, edited by William F. Ogburn. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. $2.50.

Eleven lectures by University of Chicago sociologists on problems of the home front which provide necessary background material for study of postwar reconstruction.

General

United We Stand by Basil Mathews. Little, Brown, Boston. $2.50.

A popular presentation of the countries composing the United Nations and their relations by the well-known British publicist.

Look at Africa by W. G. and M. S. Woolbert. Foreign Policy Association, 22 East 38 Street, New York 16, 25 cents.

This pamphlet in the Headline Series gives a concise picture of African history, people, resources, industrial possibilities, and colonial government. There is a special section on education by George W. Carpenter. Good material for study groups.

The Soviet Union Today. American-Russian Institute, 56 West 45 Street, New York 19, N. Y.

A convenient summary of historical, economic, political and cultural facts about the USSR composed from Soviet publications by the staff of the Institute. Handy for reference purposes, although there is not much on Church-State relations.

World Alliance News Letter published monthly (except for July and August) by the Church Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches (American Council), 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. Dr. William P. Merrill, *President, Church Peace Union;* Rt. Rev. G. Ashton Oldham, *President, World Alliance;* Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, *General Secretary;* Richard M. Fagley, *Editor.* The *World Alliance News Letter* is sent to all members. Individual membership $1.00 a year. Special quantity rates for churches and schools.

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